To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Robert Curtis Hayes entitled "Framing Analysis, News Values and Newspaper Coverage of the North American Free Trade Agreement." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Communications.

Mark Miller, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

James A. Crank

Dorothy Bowler

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

Framing Analysis, News Values And Newspaper Coverage Of The North American Free Trade Agreement

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Robert Curtis Hayes

December 1996

Copyright Robert Curtis Hayes, 1996

All rights reserved

DEDICATION

To my grandmothers Virginia Williams and Lucille Hayes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people who impressed certain bits of wisdom upon me during my time at The University of Tennessee. I would like to thank my thesis Chairman Dr. Mark Miller for his guidance and patience. I would also like to thank Dr. Jim Crook for his instruction throughout my time at UT and for serving on my thesis committee. I want to thank Dr. Dorothy Bowles for serving on my thesis committee. And a special thanks to Bonnie Hufford for her constant support and excellent example.

ABSTRACT

The relationship between framing analysis research, news values and the North American Free Trade Agreement are examined through a content analysis method of research. The analysis is designed to explore the ways news frames develop and become manifest within newspaper texts.

The news value of proximity was introduced to the study by considering the geographic location of the nine North American border city newspapers that contribute to the sample of 400 articles. To test the frames, the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House of Representatives is the focal point for the sample of 400 articles. The articles were coded for primary and secondary frames in this content analysis. And data from the coded articles is entered into a computerized cross tab and chi square program.

The literature review supports the view that primary and secondary frames naturally occur in articles when journalists adhere to traditional news values. And the results provide data and statistical measures that reveal some of the ways the primary and secondary frames formed and became manifest within the news texts. The statistical measures support two of the three hypotheses with percentages and probability levels of $<.05$. The results reveal that primary frames are dominated by trade and seem to be influenced the most by the news value of prominence. Furthermore, the secondary frames seem to be influenced by the news value of proximity, because they exhibit percentages of all three of the environment, social issues and sovereignty categories of frames. However, in the Canadian, U.S./Canadian and U.S./Mexican border papers' articles the secondary frame is dominated by environment. At the same time, the Mexican articles are more concerned with social issues as a

secondary frame.

This study provides an example of the influence of news values on the formation of frames in newspaper texts. This information can be used by scholars, news professionals and the general public to better understand the development and final formation of what are commonly referred to as news frames. It is reasoned that whatever the news media selects and writes is based on the traditional news values that journalists are trained to observe.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE	1
	Statement of The Problem	5
	Significance of The Study	7
	Definitions of Terms	10
	Research Hypotheses	11
	Organization of Chapters	12
II.	LITERATURE REVIEW	13
III.	RESEARCH METHOD	27
	Research limitations	32
	Reliability	35
IV.	RESULTS	38
V.	CONCLUSION	49
LIST OF REFERENCES		53
APPENDICES		57
	A. Figures	58
	B. Tables	62
	C. Coding Instructions and Form	72
VITA		77

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
1.	Primary Frame Percentages of Overall Articles	60
2.	Primary Frame Percentages of all Headlines	61
3.	Primary Frame Percentages of all Leads	62
4.	Primary Frame Percentages of all Sources	63
5.	Primary Frame Percentages by Newspaper Type	64
6.	Headline Percentages by Newspaper Type	65
7.	Lead Percentages by Newspaper Type	66
8.	Sources Percentages by Newspaper Type	67
9.	Secondary Frame Percentages by Newspaper Type	68

Chapter One

Introduction

According to framing analysis research, it is commonly accepted, at least in communications research, that frames exist in typical newspaper coverage about typical events. Furthermore, newspaper articles and other news media typically highlight, focus on and, therefore, frame one topic only. However, in doing so, the spotlight they shine on that topic often spills onto other relevant topics, thus, producing more than one frame.

For example, in a story about a particular event, if a particular topic is spotlighted while no other ideas receive attention, then the highlighted topic is considered the frame. Likewise, in a story about the same event, if a different subject receives the light while other subjects remain in the dark, then that topic is the frame. But, if in a story about the same event, two different topics are both in the light, then the topic that receives the main focus of the beam is the primary frame, and the topic that receives the remainder of the illumination is the secondary frame.

Since frames exist, the purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate and examine the ways they form and become manifest within newspaper texts. To achieve this purpose, a content analysis will be performed on different newspaper coverage of the same event. The newspapers are selected because of their geographically significant locations that, according to the news value of proximity, will create various news values to become more relevant than others. Upon comparison, if the newspapers produce articles with the same primary and secondary frames, it can be concluded that they followed the same journalistic news values. But, if they produce articles with different primary and

secondary frames, then the influence of the geographical and news values element of proximity will be illustrated in the manifestation of the frames. Therefore, this thesis will demonstrate the ways in which news values cause frames to become manifest in newspaper texts. In other words, the newspapers primary and secondary frames are consistent with news values and reveal the effects of adhering to proper journalistic techniques.

Since news values are the basis for what news is and how it is presented to the public through the creation of a primary frame, then, logically, they also pave the way for a secondary, tertiary, and many more layers of frames within the same story. This leads, once again, to the conclusion that the secondary frame exists within news stories that already possess a primary frame. The primary frame is highlighted and emphasized much more than the secondary or any other frame; therefore, the secondary frame is highlighted. But not as much as the primary frame.

Who cares about primary and secondary frames? Why should they care? And, how can this study possibly be relevant and significant? Depending on the results, this study can help journalists, scholars and the general public to better understand the ways news values operate and become manifest in newspaper texts. Framing research says that the reader is, in effect, told how to think about the topics and events that are framed. But, this thesis will take one step toward showing that frames are the results of the utilization of commonly accepted news values and that, in fact, any credible newspaper reporter who covers the same event as other credible journalists will produce an article with basically the same emphasis and information. However, there will be differences in the ways the stories are framed, and these differences present the opportunity to examine what news values have what influence on how the primary and

secondary frames develop.

This study about framing is important to scholars because it will support and add to the body of research on framing analysis. It is important to journalists and the public they serve, because it will increase their understanding of the news process. And it will help all three groups report on or make a decision about any type of story that appears in print or another type of news medium. This study has the potential to help anyone interested in the world of news to better interpret and understand the people, places and events that make up the world in which they live. The writer hopes, it will also help the public understand that they can trust the information in their daily newspaper as the journalists honest opinions and interpretations.

For the purpose of defining a frame, this thesis will look to many sources, including Entman (1993) who describes framing analysis in the following manner:

> Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location (speech, utterance, news report or novel, etc.) to that consciousness...to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described...It essentially involves selection and salience. (p.51-2)

Entman (1993) further states that framing is found in the communicator, text, receiver and culture that constitute the communication process. Frames can define problems by examining benefits and costs. They can also diagnose

causes, construct moral judgments, and offer remedies to problems.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) apply Entman's concept to the relevant topic of journalistic news dissemination.

> More specifically, we may conceive a news media frame as a cognitive device used in information encoding, interpreting, and retrieving; it is communicable; and it is related to journalistic professional routines and conventions. Framing, therefore, may be studied as a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse or as a characteristic of the discourse itself. (p.57)

Entman (1991) reveals that comparing media texts of similar events helps expose critical choices that construct frames otherwise camouflaged in a text.

> Unless narratives are compared, frames are difficult to detect fully and reliably, because many of the framing devices can appear as "natural," unremarkable choices of words or images. Comparison reveals that such choices are not inevitable or unproblematic but rather are central to the way the news frame helps establish the literally "common sense" (i.e. widespread) interpretation of events. (p. 6)

In order to further the knowledge of framing analysis in journalism, a comparative content analysis must be conducted. The topic of the analysis must have a broad impact on society, be or have been widely covered by newspapers and other news media, and be of a character to generate at least two distinct opinions, such as a vote. For the purpose of this thesis, it is asserted that newspaper coverage of the November 17, 1993, vote and ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House of Representatives is a prime candidate for this comparative content analysis study about framing and news values.

Because American, Canadian and Mexican border city daily newspapers are located in geographically significant locations, they all share the journalistic responsibility of covering NAFTA's ratification for their immediate news area (news value of proximity). They also share a vested interest to their nation in covering the agreement. As a result, commonly accepted news values cause the subject to be presented to each country's reading public with primary and secondary topics, news angles, or ideas selected and highlighted, and, therefore, framed. This framing does not represent a conspiracy within the newspaper industry to sway public opinion in favor or opposition to the agreement. Instead, it is the result of the border newspapers in the sample following the rules of news values.

Statement of the Problem

Gamson (1985) makes a point about news frames by summing up and emphasizing the problems and dangers that news frames can present.

> News frames are almost entirely implicit and taken for granted. They do not appear to either journalists or audiences as social constructions but as primary attributes of events that reporters are merely reflecting. News frames make the world look natural. They determine what is selected, what is excluded, what is emphasized. In short, news presents a packaged world. (p.617)

Entman (1993) says that people are poorly informed about most political and social concerns, and framing, therefore, could have a major influence on society's reaction to communications. (p.56-57)

Entman (1993) contributes another dimension by discussing the

problems that knowledge and ignorance about framing can create:

> Because frames can lead audiences to have different reactions...politicians seeking support are compelled to compete with each other and journalists over news frames. Reflecting the play of power and boundaries of discourse over an issue, many news texts exhibit homogeneous framing at one level of analysis, yet competing frames at another...If elites control frames and thus public opinion, what is 'True Public Opinion'. (p.55-57)

Entman (1993) further observes that:

> Despite framings' omnipresence across the social sciences and humanities, nowhere is there a general statement of framing theory that shows exactly how frames become embedded within and make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing influences thinking...Analysis of framing may suggest how the discipline of communications might contribute something unique by synthesizing a key concept's disparate uses, showing how they involve communications and constructing a theory. (p.51)

Another step toward examining the formation of frames in news texts will be performed in this thesis. By using the body of research about framing and a content analysis research technique, a foundation for further research into how primary and secondary frames develop will be laid. Furthermore, this research is unique because it addresses the secondary frames. Current research states that frames are camouflaged within texts. And it also suggests that the frames are unremarkable choices that result from selecting one aspect of an event over another. But, because the frame is what appears in the final copy of a news report, it is remarkable and important. Therefore, research that supports the idea

that frames are created by the distinct and commonly accepted formula of news values needs to be performed so that public opinion towards journalists can be improved. This research can alter the public's illusion of journalists creating frames and tossing objectivity in the garbage into the reality of journalists following news values and presenting information that just happens to fall into various frames.

Significance of the Study

If this thesis can shed light on the ways frames evolve and form in newspaper texts, then perhaps the public can be better served by such knowledge. A realistic and significant result of this study will be its effects on current and future journalists and scholars. This study will give these professionals more of the knowledge necessary to make judgments about what information is accurate and what information is framed. Furthermore, this study will allow both groups to reach new levels of understanding about newspaper coverage, in general, and the ratification of NAFTA, in particular. Since these groups will spend the rest of their careers making news decisions, it is a possibility that any member could be confronted with an assignment related to a future implementation of a NAFTA policy or a similar type of agreement. Therefore, an understanding of framing and its relationship with NAFTA and news values will assist them in their effort to present the public with the true details.

A large percentage of the reading public is skeptical of news coverage. But, if the public is made aware of the elements that make a story newsworthy, its members can predict what frames will and should exist within the story. As a result, the public can use this knowledge to look beyond what a newspaper

article presents. Because, if the public knows it is being presented with frames that result from journalistic news values, it may trust what the newspaper presents as the most important issues of the event. Therefore, the consumer can make a better informed interpretation and decision about whatever events or issues the newspaper focuses on that particular day, whether it is a future NAFTA policy implementation, a different trade agreement, election issues or a bank robbery.

This thesis will support the idea that framing occurs when credible journalists follow the standard and commonly accepted techniques of news values; however, it would be naive to think that all journalists follow blindly the rules of news values and let the formula of news selection dictate the resulting frame that develops in their coverage. Therefore, this thesis is significant, because it will show that the majority of journalists follow the principles of news values. Therefore, the overall effects cannot be altered by a few non-objective journalists. At the other end of the spectrum, public relations professionals could use this research to better design campaigns that frame information about their organization's issues.

Where does NAFTA fit into the whole news values and framing picture? The Grolier Electronic Encyclopedia (1995) states that "The North American Free Trade Agreement went into force on January 1, 1994. Under its provisions all barriers to goods and services from the Yukon to Yucatan are to be phased out over a 15-year period. " Furthermore, the vote and ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House of Representatives on November 17, 1993, received extensive coverage in both the broadcast and print news media. It is, thus, a ripe research topic.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) say that framing is significant because it

represents advancement in mass media news text research. It is literally the next level towards a more complete understanding of news framing, the ways it appears as a natural consequence of news discourse, and how it can be used for the creation of ideals, one-sided presentations, positive or negative publicity, or havoc.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) elaborate on this idea and provide further information and evidence of the significance of this study.

> Framing analysis as an approach to analyzing news discourse mainly deals with how public discourse about public policy issues is constructed and negotiated. It is based on the recognition that in the American political process, the participants are increasingly pressed to use symbolic devices to gain legitimacy, form political alignments, strive toward consensus, and organize collective or policy actions...It shares with agenda setting research a focus on the public policy issues in the news and in voters' minds. However, it expands beyond what people talk or think about by examining how they think and talk. It also goes beyond the agenda setting literature, characterized by collections of empirical generalizations without theories,...to build a more solid theoretical basis of news discourse processes. The crucial advance from the agenda setting research is that framing analysis examines the diversity and fluidity in how issues are conceptualized and consequently allows for more fruitful analysis of the conceptual evolution of policy issues. (p.70)

These ideas presented by Pan and Kosicki suggest that framing is the perfect research technique to apply to an analysis of the November 17, 1993, NAFTA vote and ratification. By its nature, the agreement was characterized by

a lengthy debate and voting process and an even longer implementation process. Two distinct political sides slugged out the details in the press. And the details were so complicated that the average person could not possibly hope to have made a well-informed decision. In order to make a decision supporting or negating the agreement, the public was forced to rely on the presentation of the debate over NAFTA in the news media.

> Entman (1993) describes how framing is significant in a broader sense. An understanding of frames helps illuminate many empirical and normative controversies, most importantly because the concept of framing directs our attention to the details of just how a communicated text exerts its power...A common understanding might help constitute framing as a "research paradigm"...The framing paradigm could be applied with similar benefits to the study of public opinion and voting behavior in political science, to cognitive studies in social psych or to class, gender, and race research in cultural studies and sociology. And other fields as well. (p.55-56)

Definitions of Terms

FRAMING--Entman (1991) concludes news frames exist as mentally stored guidelines for information processing and as characteristics of news texts. News frames emerge from and exist in the key words, concepts, metaphors, symbols, and visual images emphasized in news reports. Ultimately, a narrative is made up of words and pictures; therefore, frames may be identified by searching for particular words and visual images in a narrative:

> By providing, repeating, and thereby reinforcing words and visual

images that reference some ideas but not others, frames work to make some ideas more salient in the text, others less so and others entirely invisible. The frame does not eliminate all inconsistent information; texts inevitably contain some incongruent data. But through repetition, placement, and reinforcing associations with each other, the words and images that comprise the frame render one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensible, and memorable than others. (p.7)

FRAME--(Merriam-Webster, 1974) --1: to plan or contrive. 2: to formulate. 3: to shape or construct. 4: to draw up (~a constitution) 5: to fit or adjust for a purpose: to arrange. (p.288)

Primary Frame--In a news story with more than one frame, the primary frame is the idea that receives the majority of attention or focus of the story.

Secondary Frame-- A secondary frame exists within a news story that has a primary frame. The primary frame is emphasized more than any other topic. The secondary frame is highlighted but not as much as the primary frame.

Agenda Setting--A theory that says through their selection and presentation of the news, the media sets the agenda for the public. The agenda tells the public what topics, issues and events are important and should be considered.

Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis #1A: Trade is the primary frame present in border city daily newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House.

Hypothesis #1B: The primary frame is presented differently in the four types of

North American border city daily newspapers.

Hypothesis #2: The secondary frame in border city daily newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House differs by newspaper type and includes environment, social issues and sovereignty.

Organization of Chapters

This thesis will be organized into five chapters. The first will introduce the study and describe some of the basic problems and significant elements of framing analysis, news values, and NAFTA. Chapter one will also describe three hypotheses, provide some definitions of particularly significant terms, and describe the organization of chapters.

Chapter Two will present relevant literature about framing, as well as, consideration of its connection with news values and NAFTA. Chapter Three will describe the research method to be constructed, followed and analyzed, as well as the limitations of that research. Chapter Four will present the results and a discussion of the content analysis, and Chapter Five will provide conclusions and recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Entman (1993) says that most literature reviews about framing are often casually defined. Therefore, this literature review will present a focused review of relevant information that is narrowly defined.

Since this thesis seeks to detect and examine the differences between American, Canadian, and Mexican border city daily newspapers coverage of the Nov. 17, 1993, ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House of Representatives, Chapter Two will concentrate and reflect on literature that amplifies the relationship between framing, news values and NAFTA.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) suggest that formal research about framing probably began with social and/or cultural studies. Huang (1994) continues with the argument by stating that a review of relevant literature reveals that most current studies on framing effects approach the process from a sociological perspective and then focus on the production of news presentations. (p.5)

> For example, Goffman's social science approach (1974) reads:
>
> My aim is to try to isolate some of the basic frameworks of understanding available in our society for making sense out of events and to analyze the special vulnerabilities to which these frames of reference are subject...I start with the fact that from an individual's particular point of view, while one thing may momentarily appear to be what is really going on, in fact what is actually happening is plainly a joke, or a dream, or an accident, or a mistake, or a misunderstanding, or a deception, or a theatrical performance, and so forth. (p.10)
>
> Goffman (1974) continues and says that all basic frameworks consist of

"primary frameworks."

> Primary frameworks vary in degree of organization. some are neatly presentable as a system of entities, postulates and rules; and most others have no apparent articulated shape, providing only an approach, a perspective. However, whatever the degree of organization each primary framework allows its user to look locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms. The individual is unaware of the organization of such features as the framework yet he easily and fully applies it many times a day. (p.21-22)

The two general categories of primary frameworks are natural and social, and they can occur numerous times a day in society.

Goffman (1974) describes natural frameworks as occurrences viewed as unguided, purely physical and due totally to natural factors. (p.22)

At the other end of the spectrum, social frameworks provide background information about occurrences that combine the desire, goal, and controlling effort of an intelligence, mainly the human being. Motive and intent helps determine which of the social frameworks of understanding is to be applied. It is assumed that natural events happen without social intervention, yet social events are not effective without stepping into the natural order. Therefore, any part of a social action or event can be examined from a natural approach. (p.23)

Goffman (1974) sums up primary frameworks by discussing how people tend to grasp and interpret things using a particular frame. Thus, the framework used creates a way to describe the item or event. Unfortunately this idea can become insufficient if a person uses several frameworks. Of course, credibility returns when considering the fact that a primary framework provides the first

answer to, "What is it that's going on here?" (p.24-25)

Pan and Kosicki (1993) assign news discourse framing devices into one of four categories: 1) syntactical structure; 2) script structure; 3) thematic structure; 4) rhetorical structure. Syntactical structures appear as consistent patterns of words and phrases into sentences. In the majority of news articles, this is characterized by using the inverted pyramid structure and the standard rules of source attributions.

An inverted pyramid refers to sequential organization of structural elements (i,e, headline, lead, episodes, background, and closure). The signifying power of these elements varies in the same descending order. For example, a headline is the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers' minds; it is, thus, the most powerful framing device of the syntactical structure. A lead is the next most important device to use. A good lead will give a story a newsworthy angle, suggesting a particular perspective to view the event reported. (p.59-60)

Therefore, the coding form used in this study will look at headlines and leads in particular.

Furthermore, Pan and Kosicki (1993) say the journalistic convention of objective reporting is a part of the syntactical structure of news discourse. It can be an effective framing device in three ways: "1) A claim of empirical validity by quoting experts and empirical facts; 2) Connecting specific perspectives to authorities by quoting official sources; 3) Marginalizing some perspectives by using the quote of a social deviant as support." (p.60)

This suggests that sources should also be considered on the coding form.

Script structures often seem like stories. This characteristic is attributed to

two factors: "1) Most stories report definite newsworthy events and literally describe events. 2) News is counted on to help audiences understand the environment that dictates their limited sensory experiences." (p. 60)

Pan and Kosicki (1993) say thematic structure includes the summary and main body of a news article. The summary is the headline, lead, or conclusion. And, the main body supports a hypothesis with events, information and quotes. (p.61)

And finally, Pan and Kosicki (1993) reveal that the rhetorical structure of a news report examines the stylistic choices of journalists. These can include metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images as framing devices. Also, journalists can use rhetorical devices to magnify images and increase the salience of a perspective.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) draw on the logic of van Dijk (1988) when they discuss the general description of a frame. They say the frame or theme of news discourse is the main idea that compares and places information into a understandable form. It is organized and developed by following the rules of syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical discourse structures in combination with the psychological perspectives of coherence and consistency.

Kahneman and Tversky (1981) seem to support the hypothesis that frames happen as a matter of a natural emergence of decisions.

> We know turn attention to the processes that control the framing of outcomes and events. The public health problem illustrates a formulation effect in which a change of wording from 'lives saved' to 'lives lost' induced a marked shift of preference from risk aversion to risk seeking. Formulation effects can occur fortuitously, without anyone being aware of the impact of the frames on the ultimate decision. They

can also be exploited deliberately to manipulate the relative attractiveness of options." (p.346)

Since literature on framing has been presented, it is now necessary to discuss news values and the best place to start is by identifying all the participants of news discourse and their possible relationships to the framing process. Pan and Kosicki's (1993) study is a perfect one to use for this purpose. Not only does it address all the members of news discourse, but it also provides a model that describes those participants. Figure 1[0] is the result.

According to Pan and Kosicki (1993):

> In this scheme, the news discourse process is normally initiated when a source stages an event that is recognized as newsworthy or when information about an event or an issue is sought by a journalist. However, this process is a circular one with endogenous loops. The three players in the process (i.e., sources, journalists, and audience members; See Gans, 1979) all engage in the process based on their socially defined roles and are linked to one another by the news discourse that they design, construct, transmit, and act on. (p.57)

Pan and Kosicki (1993) describe the boundaries that a basic frame possesses.

> The domain in which the news discourse operates consists of shared beliefs about a society. These beliefs, despite the elusive nature of their content, are known to and accepted by a majority of the society as common sense or conventional wisdom (e.g., "Equal opportunities are desirable"; "Opposing political candidates compete to win"; "Truth means something real," etc.). They are pervasive and are often taken for

[0] This Figure and all other Figures are found in Appendix A.

granted. They set the parameters of a broad framework within which news discourse is constructed, transmitted, and developed." (p.57)

Pan and Kosicki (1993) assume each story contains a news theme, and it functions as the main organizing idea. The researchers maintain that there is interaction between signifying elements and the main idea. The relationships they exhibit can be exploited by news producers or consumers in attempts to maximize the chances of successful communication of the meaning. (p.58)

Pan and Kosicki (1993) proclaim the following:

"The basic structure of signifying elements frames and installs a cognitive window. Due to this structure function, a theme can also be called a frame." (p.59)

According to Pan and Kosicki (1993), the signifying elements of a theme are defined by using generally accepted rules and conventions. They assist in framing because they are verifiable when translated into precise elements of a text, and they can, therefore, be manipulated. Overall, they could be considered tools for journalists. They could also provide stimuli for news consumers. In general, they provide the main factors that make frames communicable in media news.

Research that addresses news values has been selected to help construct a bridge that will transport a solid base of information for this discussion of framing, news values and NAFTA.

Graber (1993) considers the "manufacture" of routine news:

Speaking about the manufacture of news does not mean that journalists concoct the stories they report. It does mean that they select events to cover and interpret from a myriad of events happening in a particular time period. What portions of the raw

material they select and how they put it together determines the nature of the finished news product. It is a manufactured creation, therefore, and not a natural growth that journalists merely harvest. There is no magical quality that makes something "news." What is publishable in one setting for one medium is not necessarily appropriate for another. Newsworthiness of individual stories will vary from country to country, audience to audience, and time to time. (p.101)

Graber (1993) says that every organization has its own power structure. It is constructed by the interaction between owners, journalists, government authorities, other news sources, advertisers, and audiences. And most news people join an organization and stay only if they have a similar organizational philosophy. To gain approval, recognition from peers, and career advancement, journalists are forced to learn and adapt to the types of stories which are acceptable according to organizational policy. (p.108)

Graber (1993) describes five main criteria that are used the most for the selection of the news by journalism professionals. First, it must have a strong impact on the audience. Second, conflict, violence, disaster or scandal can be the basis for a story. Third, familiarity such as well known people and situations is important. Fourth, proximity includes news that hits close to home. And fifth, a story must be timely and novel. The majority of news stories are selected and framed to fulfill the requirements of these five criteria. (p.118)

Harriss, Leiter and Johnson (1993) describe news values as disruptions in everyday life. "News is an account of events that disrupt the status quo or have the potential to cause disruption." Any newsworthy event has at least some of the following characteristics: conflict, progress, disaster, impact, novelty

and human interest. Other desirable qualifications are timeliness, proximity and prominence. (p.5)

Boone (1993) states that journalists look for certain news values when deciding what to write about:

"The way news values affect media content in turn affects how these issues are presented to the public. What is presented to the public affects what we know about these issues leading to attitude formation, opinion change and, ultimately, policy formation." (p.5) The policy formation that results takes the form of a primary frame. And, such a frame is directly related to news values as perceived by the newspapers.

Proximity is a news value that, on the surface, does not appear to have had a major influence over the way an individual newspaper covered NAFTA. Since it would affect countries and continents first and foremost, it seems that any news coverage of the agreement would naturally focus on the international and national aspects of trade, not local implications. In other words, at first glance the dominant newsworthy element of NAFTA is impact, not proximity. Therefore, impact was the first news value considered by journalists when reporting on the agreement. Therefore, impact created the primary frame of daily border cities' newspapers. The fact that daily newspapers presented trade as the primary frame of their NAFTA coverage is logical. And this is what this thesis will prove with a content analysis. Because, it is necessary to address the primary frame in order to get to the secondary frame. And demonstrate how both frames become manifest in newspaper texts.

Graber (1993) cites a frequent criticism that says American journalism is controlled by the Eastern Press. It makes up only eight percent of American news:

> These are the 'generative' media that produce the news that 'derivative' media distribute. These are the media staffed by elite journalists whose social perspectives are left-liberal in contrast to the views characterized as 'Middle-America.' The heavy reliance by news people throughout the country on these eastern 'elite' news sources is one reason why patterns of American news coverage are broadly similar throughout the country. Regardless of regional and local differences that shape social and political views, Americans share most of their news. This provides a basis for nationwide public opinions that bear, to a marked degree, the imprint of the pacesetter media. (p.109)

Graber (1993) puts it this way, "A small number of journalists make the final decisions about which stories will actually be published or aired. These decision makers are often called 'gatekeepers.' ...On the average newspaper or news weekly fewer than twenty-five people are involved in the final decision of what news is used." (p.110)

Graber (1993) supplies several criteria for the news media's selection of specific stories:

> In addition to deciding what, in general, is publishable news, gatekeepers must choose particular news items to include in their mix of offerings...Gatekeepers also must decide how they want to frame each item so that it carries a particular message...For instance, at the height of the Vietnam War, ABC camera crews were ordered to concentrate on bloody battle scenes. This led to a story emphasis on the loss of human lives. (p.116)

Now that framing and news discourse literature has been presented,

some background information about NAFTA should be reviewed.

Free Trade is defined and described by the Cambridge Encyclopedia (1990) as, "An economic doctrine that trade between countries should not be controlled in any way; there should be no tariffs or other barriers...since the 19th Century, tariff barriers have become universal, but groups of countries may agree to lower or remove them, forming a free-trade area." (p.466)

The first step toward creation of free-trade in North American was taken when the United States and Canada completed a free-trade pact that became effective January 1, 1989. In June 1990, the second step was taken when U.S. President George Bush and Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari revealed the beginning of plans to lower trade barriers along the 2,000 mile U.S.-Mexican border.

According to the Grolier Electronic Encyclopedia (1995) more ground was gained yet lost when:

> Tripartite negotiations by representatives of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, President Carlos Salinas De Gortari of Mexico, and President George Bush of the United States were successfully concluded in August 1992. Ratification by the United States, however, was delayed by opponents of the agreement, who hoped for support from a successful Democratic presidential candidate after the U.S. elections of November 1992.

According to Baer and Weintraub (1994), due to certain circumstances that occurred throughout the historical development of North America, Canada and Mexico were wary of their superpower neighbor. And, they emphasized the fact that they did not want to lose any governing power to external control (sovereignty). Thus, North American nations were not willing to pursue an

agreement without certain provisions that would address past and present border battles, the most publicized of which were the environmental impacts. However, since the potential economic gains of NAFTA would be net gains; there would naturally be winners and losers. Therefore, NAFTA may have resulted in the economies of Mexico, Canada and the U.S. experiencing a dislocating effect, most likely by industry and region. This scenario could possibly cause severe layoffs of workers in certain areas of each country. And at the same time, it could be the catalyst for new jobs in other regions of each country. (p.35)

As it happened, Bill Clinton was elected President. And, he proceeded to help negotiate amendments to NAFTA that strengthened environmental and labor (social) provisions. After gaining overwhelming Republican and half-tone Democratic support, Congress secured ratification of NAFTA in November 1993. However, this seemingly final step in the process toward the achievement of "free-trade," was merely another brick in the sidewalk toward realizing free-trade in North America.

Bognanno and Ready (1993) discuss the period leading up to the signing and implementing process of NAFTA.

> Business, industry, labor, environmental and other NGO's lobbied their concerns to trade negotiators. Today lobbying continues, moreso in the U.S. than in Mexico or Canada. the policy flows from deliberations to treaty negotiations, to the submission of enabling legislation, and finally to the status of congressional authorization. This constant flow incorporates the various aspects of NAFTA into actuality; however, it is subject to the constant bombardment of concerns dropped by individuals who hope to avoid the staggered

negative consequences of certain NAFTA policies. (preface)

Therefore, in effect, the final form of individual NAFTA issues are not solidified and cured until they are in working progress. And even at that point, they are subject to further exposure to critics and/or supporters who wish to abolish or fine tune various aspects of the agreement.

Baer and Weintraub (1994) suggest a starting point that may help in the comparison of newspaper coverage of NAFTA.

> Simply comparing the relative sizes and levels of economic development of the three North American countries goes a long way towards providing intuition for many of the predictions about the impact of NAFTA... All three countries have large land areas and are rich in natural resources. The United States is roughly ten times as large as Canada both in terms of population and in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). Although the United States has only about three times as many people as Mexico, it had more than twenty-seven times as much national income in 1988. (p.4)

This statement suggests that the land area and natural resources are top priorities for each country. Baer and Weintraub suggest that the protection of this top priority was a major issue of NAFTA for all three countries.

> A loose coalition of Canadian, U.S. and Mexican environmental groups had been able to press their governments for unprecedented environmental concessions in the creation of a trade instrument. The fruit of their labors was the successful negotiation, in August 1993, of a parallel environmental agreement to accompany NAFTA. Among other things, the agreement created a commission for Environmental Cooperation with some authority to screen and

arbitrate environmental disputes. (p.53)

This statement also suggests that Canada and the U.S. are equal as far as economic standing, when considering their populations in relation to the GDP of each country. Therefore, Baer and Weintraub suggest that the economic consequences were not a major issue of NAFTA for those two countries. However, since the U.S. has a huge advantage over Mexico in the relation between population and GDP, this suggests that the economy was a major issue between those two countries. However, this passage is deceiving. Because, while the economy might not be an issue for Canada and the U.S. on the surface, below the waves, the economy has a strong and dangerous current as a result of NAFTA. After all, NAFTA is a trade agreement. And a major, if not the major, aspect of trade is the economic implications. This fact is evident in Bognanno and Ready's (1993) conclusions that construction of a North American free-trade area would build a free market of at least 364 million consumers with a total economic output of $6 trillion. Therefore, the required widespread impact is present.

The impact of NAFTA on North America was further widened by the news media because of opposition pressures which forced the trade debate to engulf three issues other than trade as primary concerns. (p.3)

Baer and Weintraub (1994) describe these other trade pact issues:

> First, nongovernmental organizations NGO (s) insisted on including nontraditional issues such as the environment and labor standards in the negotiating agenda. Second, although not part of the negotiations, questions of human rights were raised, as were other social issues like the cost of health care. Third, and most sensitive, questions regarding the impact of economic integration between low

wage and high wage countries led to the comparison of NAFTA with other regional models such as the European Community; this led to anxieties in all three countries about a compromise of sovereignty. (introduction)

Baer and Weintraub (1994) add a twist that is extremely significant to the secondary frames of North American border cities' daily newspapers coverage of the trade pact. They explain:

> The economic gains derived by liberalizing trade are 'Net' gains- There are both winners and losers...Critical segments of the U.S. economy may experience severe dislocation as a result of such liberalization. Experience suggests that these dislocation effects are usually concentrated by industry and region, making the adjustment process even more difficult. (p.35)

Since it is hypothesized that the primary frame of NAFTA presented by the national border cities' newspapers was that of trade, it is logical to hypothesize that the secondary frames were similar to the other trade pact issues as described by Baer and Weintraub (1994): environment, social, and sovereignty.

This literature review presents information that gives a brief historical background about the origins and ideas surrounding a communications perspective of framing analysis. And it reveals aspects related to news values. When this literature is examined with an emphasis on newspaper coverage of NAFTA, an interesting and significant thesis is developed. And a way to observe and examine the ways news values influence the formation of primary and secondary frames has been created.

Chapter Three

Research Method

The most appropriate method for this type of study is a content analysis; it enables the researcher to examine North American border city newspaper articles through a numerical system that counts and ranks elements. These numbers determine what elements receive enough print to qualify as primary and secondary frames.

Singletary (1994) states that a content analysis looks for generalities, regularities and patterns in information. The analyzer seeks to read counted elements, between the lines, and to test the consistency of information. It converts texts to numbers, and it counts their occurrence in a text

Furthermore, Singletary (1994) says the elements that are counted should be manifest and obvious. However, there is also the idea of a latent aspect. He describes the 10 steps of a content analysis: 1) select topic 2) decide on sample or census 3) define concepts or units to be counted 4) construct categories 5) create coding form 6) train coders 7) collect data 8) measure intercoder reliability 9) analyze data and 10) report results (p.284).

In order to be objective the content analysis method must be designed to avoid bias. Singletary (1994) says, "The intent of any content analysis is to represent the text as a whole (p.288)."

This content analysis has been designed to take a step towards determining how frames form in newspaper texts. There are too many newspaper articles about NAFTA's ratification to perform a census. Therefore, the number of NAFTA's ratification articles has been reduced to a more distinct aspect of the agreement, and a sample significant enough to represent the

entire population of newspapers has been chosen. For the purpose of this thesis, the November 17, 1993, ratification by the U.S. House of Representatives is the primary focus of the data pool. It is the focus, because the success of the entire agreement was determined by the House vote in favor of NAFTA. However, the articles should cover a broad enough range to include, at least, some information about the Canadian Parliament, U.S. Senate and Mexican Senate's NAFTA votes. The Canadian Parliament passed NAFTA in the Spring of 1992. However, new Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien did not give NAFTA the status of royal proclamation until the agreement was passed in the U.S. and Mexico. Chretien gave final approval before the Jan. 1, 1994 implementation deadline. The U.S. Senate passed NAFTA on Nov. 20. 1993. And the Mexican Senate approved the agreement two days later on Nov. 22, 1993. Therefore, the sample includes all but coverage of the Canadian governments ratification of the trade agreement. And since the over one year of coverage leading up to Nov. 17, 1993 is too large to realistically analyze, given the limitations of this thesis. The amount of coverage examined is reduced to include only those articles that appeared from November 1, 1993 to November 25, 1993. Since the ratification took place on November 17, 1993, the period of November 1, 1993 through November 25,1993 leads up to and directly follows the actual vote in the U.S. House. Furthermore, these dates surround the ratification dates of NAFTA in the U.S. House and Senate and the Mexican Senate. This time period, therefore, allows the articles to touch on all the relevant topics and ideas that were debated and should contain the most focused and important information about the agreement.

The newspapers used to compile the population that is the basis for the pool of statistical data are geographically significant because they are

representative newspapers from each nation involved in NAFTA. Therefore, each nation's unique interests could dictate the coverage that appeared in their nation's newspapers. Also, since all the newspapers are located on or close to the border, their opinions and attitudes about NAFTA's ratification could be directly affected by this geographic location. Also, each newspaper's circulation and geographic location were considered in order to give an equal chance for the selection of newspapers from medium and large circulations. Figure 2 reveals the North American border city daily newspapers selected for their variety in medium and large circulations: The Chronicle Journal is located in Thunder Bay, Ontario and has a medium circulation of 28,598; The Globe and Mail is located in Toronto, Ontario and has a large circulation of 317,000; The Vancouver Sun is located in Vancouver, British Columbia and has a medium circulation of 193,846; The Buffalo News is located in Buffalo, New York and has a large circulation of 309,886; The Duluth News-Tribune is located in Duluth, Minnesota and has a medium circulation of 55,030; The Seattle Times is located in Seattle, Washington and has a large circulation of 231,446; The El Paso Times is located in El Paso, Texas and has a medium circulation of 66,143; The San Diego Union-Tribune is located in San Diego, California and has a large circulation of 406,860; and La Jornada is a Spanish language newspaper located in Mexico City, Mexico, and it has a medium circulation of 75,000. These newspapers provide information to almost 1.7 million people who live in the geographical border locations included in the newspapers circulation areas. Therefore, articles that were published in the period from November 1, 1993, to November 25, 1993, have been coded and examined as representatives of border city newspapers. It is, however, acknowledged that 1.7 million people is probably a tiny percent of the total number of people living

and working along the border. The newspapers are in counteractive positions along the same border. (See Figure 3) Because of their physical geographical locations along the border, these sample representatives could present a different view about the agreement by virtue of serving different countries and being located in direct geographical opposition from another border city. Therefore, this content analysis reveals the elements in the articles that construct frames. Through the use of crosstabs and chi square analysis, the researcher has developed the data necessary to apply to hypotheses and see the results laid out in the cross tabs.

The number of articles about NAFTA drawn from these nine sample border cities newspapers totals 400. According to commonly accepted research methods, 400 is, in general, a sample size that is used to represent the entire population of a particular group. As Figure 3 reveals, the creation of the four categories of newspaper types comes from actually looking at a map of the border regions and their natural geographical markers that determine the boundaries of the states and provinces of all three NAFTA nations. The locations of the sample newspapers are marked with a star. These border cities have distinct news areas that have been defined by the four newspaper types of 1=Canadian, 2=U.S./Canadian, 3=U.S./Mexican and 4=Mexican. Each type is countered on the opposite side of the national border by newspapers of the opposite type with the same medium or large circulation area. For example, the coding form divides the articles into the four newspaper types with type 1 being countered by type 2 and type 3 being countered by type 4. Therefore, these areas are effectively covered by the same amount of coverage on both sides of the borders. This counter effect covers both sides of most of the national borders along the three countries, and they appear to cover at least one-fourth of these

border's news areas. Therefore, it is estimated that the 400 articles in the sample is a sufficient sample size to use as a representative of the entire population.

In order to get the necessary observations of data, a coding form that defines the units from the sample articles to be counted also constructs categories and has been designed to act as a nominal scale (see coding form and coding instructions)[1]. It utilizes mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories in order to assign numbers to the headlines, leads, and source information of NAFTA articles. After the careful examination of the headlines, leads and sources, a judgment will be made by the coder as to which category the article's primary frame belongs to: environment, social issues, sovereignty, trade or other. After the primary frame has been calculated the coder is asked to determine what the articles secondary frame is, using the same coding categories and taking into consideration the primary frame category. The form will also assist in the creation of data that can be measured and interpreted statistically through crosstabs, and chi square tests.

The three categories of environment, social issues, and sovereignty were selected in consideration of literature on the trade agreement. And they were fine tuned on a trial and error basis. This same procedure determined that other would be the fifth category. The trade category, however, was not as clear of a decision as the other four categories. The environment category was defined to include information about natural resources, environmental damage, pollution, water control and other related topics. The social issues category was defined to include information about human rights, health care, immigrants, welfare, cultural identity and other related topics. The sovereignty category was defined

1 The Coding Instructions and Coding Form are found in Appendix B.

to include any information about a countries power to self-govern without external control. And trade eventually came to be defined as including information about debate, economy, business, negotiations, labor, industry, employment, border industry, maquiladoras, imports, exports and other related topics. Trade is a broad category. And if this research was designed to only examine the manifestation of the primary frames, the mini-categories that combine to make the trade category would be coded as individual categories. However, since this thesis is designed to examine both primary and secondary frames, the trade category has simplified a broad category and allowed for a greater focus on the secondary frame results. Secondary frames exist within articles that already have primary frames. Therefore, when the primary frame issues are separated into a primary frame category a better view of the secondary frame issues can be gained.

Research Limitations

Due to the difficulty encountered in getting copies of the almost three-year old Mexican newspapers, only one Mexican daily newspaper is available for this study. It is *La Jornada* (75,000 circulation) from Mexico City, not a border city. However, this is the only authentic Mexican newspaper in Spanish that the researcher could acquire. Therefore, this Mexican daily newspaper is a representation of all Mexican newspapers including border cities, especially since *La Jornada* is published in the capital city of Mexico.

Furthermore, and also due to the age of the newspaper copy, some portions of the articles were unattainable or unreadable, due to bad microfilm processes or other technical problems. However, this represents a tiny percent.

And, although some portions of some of the articles are unreadable, all headlines and leads are accounted for and legible, as well as most of the quotes, sources and bodies of text. Thus, it is argued that enough of these articles are present and legible to accurately code the articles.

The four coding categories (See Coding Instructions) environment, social issues, sovereignty and trade could be argued to mask certain concerns due to the broad range of issues they cover. In particular, the trade category is full of issues that could overlap such as employment and labor or exports and imports. However, it is argued by the researcher that these four categories are defined in a manner that does not mask the concerns of this research. Because this research seeks to examine the manifestation of secondary, as well as, primary frames in newspaper texts. Therefore, an exacting measurement of the primary frame is not necessary.

Another concern could be raised about the sample of 400 newspaper articles about NAFTA. The small newspapers do not have Washington, D.C. bureaus. They depend on wire services like the AP, Reuters, Knight-Ridder and others or other newspapers for most international and national news. Therefore, how many articles in the sample are duplicated as a result of being selected from the same wire copy? All the small newspapers are dominated by wire stories. The domination becomes a mix in medium sized newspapers. And the large newspapers have their own reporters in Washington, D.C. bureaus but still use an occasional or exceptional wire story. Forty-seven percent of the 82 Canadian newspaper articles in the 400 article sample came from either The Canadian Press (CP), Reuters, AP or SouthAm News, others and combined wire services or the Wall Street Journal and Baltimore Sun newspapers. Sixty-one percent of the 100 U.S.-Canadian newspaper articles in the sample came

from the AP, Knight-Ridder, Reuters, others and combined news wire services and The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Baltimore Sun and other newspapers. Sixty-four percent of the 115 U.S.-Mexican articles in the sample came from the AP, Copley, Gannett, other or combined news wire services or The Los Angeles Times, New York Times or another newspaper. And the relatively small amount of 14 percent of the 103 Mexican newspaper articles in the sample came from Reuters, AP, UPI, Efe, other or combined news wire services or other newspapers.

Overall, 47 percent of all the combined articles are the product of a news wire service or another newspaper. Fifteen percent of the 400 articles came from the AP wire, 7 percent from Copley news service, 4 percent from Reuters, 3 percent from The Canadian Press, 3 percent from Knight-Ridder, 1 percent from Gannett, 2.5 percent came from other news wire services, 4 percent came from combined news wire agencies, and 7 percent came from other newspapers. Therefore, it is argued by the researcher that even though a large percentage of the overall sample of 400 border city newspaper articles are the product of news wire services and other newspapers, the distribution of the articles from among the various available news services is not dominated by any one service or newspaper, with the exception of the AP. In conclusion, there is a chance that some of the articles in the sample are duplicated. However, the distribution among wire services and newspapers suggests that the duplication is not a large enough percentage to make a major impact on the results of this research.

Reliability

The coding form and coding instructions must accurately guide any coder through the sample of articles. Consequently, the Holsti Formula is being applied to the results from a 60 article sample randomly selected from the 400 total articles in order to check their accuracy. By comparing the coders results, the formula's purpose is to determine the accuracy and, therefore, the reliability of the mutually exclusive and exhaustive coding categories. The Holsti Formula states that Reliability=2M/(N1+N2). The variable M=the number of coding decisions on which the coders agree. And N1+N2=the total number of coding decisions by the coders.

In order to ensure that the 60 sample articles coded and tested for intercoder reliability represent the entire population of the sample, two coders (the author and an independent coder) randomly selected 15 articles from each of the four categories of North American border city daily newspapers: (1)Canadian, (2)U.S.-Canadian, (2)U.S.-Mexican, and (2)Mexican.

For each category, the articles were numbered and a list of numbers was created. The independent coder picked a number by closing her eyes and pointing to a number. Starting with the number nine every fifth article was chosen for coding until 15 articles from each category were selected.

After both coders completed the forms according to the instructions, the total number of coding decisions on which they each agreed was 240. In order to calculate the overall intercoder reliability, it is necessary to multiply 240 times the number of coders (2) to get 480. When the total number of coding decisions upon which the coders agree is determined (480), it can be divided by the total number of coding decisions made by the coders (300+300=600). When the

division is complete, the researcher gets .80 or 80 percent as the intercoder reliability for all five coding categories. According to conventional reliability measures, anything above 70 percent is acceptable. However, the researcher wants the research to be as accurate as possible. Therefore, it is necessary to determine which individual categories are the cause of lowering the overall reliability measure from a perfect 100 percent to 80 percent. Accordingly, through the method of performing an intercoder reliability measure for each category, it appeared that two categories needed work, sources and secondary frames. Applying the Holsti Formula to the headlines category produced a 100 percent reliability measure. Applying the same formula to the leads category produced a 80 percent reliability measure. Checking the Holsti Formula against the sources category revealed a 60 percent reliability measure. The primary frame category on the coding form received a 90 percent reliability measure using the Holsti Formula. And the secondary frame category received a 60 percent reliability measure with the formula. Due to their low reliability measures, the instructions for the sources and secondary frames categories were redefined in the following manner:

In the sources category, it was added; if sources are equal, the one listed first is considered dominant and should be marked. This change resulted in the sources category receiving a reliability measure of 85 percent, using the Holsti Formula.

In the secondary frame category, it was added; if the primary frame is the same as the secondary frame, there is no secondary frame; therefore, the none category should marked. Also, if the secondary frames are equal in all categories, then the one named first is dominant and should be marked. After another random sample was drawn and coded, the secondary frame category

received a reliability measure of 80 percent, using the Holsti Formula. This figure is at a level that is acceptable as reliable by conventional standards.

After the changes were complete, another random sample was drawn for coding. Using a table of random numbers with articles 1-400 listed, a die was tossed and landed on 3. The third article down the list was chosen and every fifth article after it was selected until 60 articles were chosen. The articles were coded, and the results determined an overall reliability percentage of 87 percent. This figure is at a level that is acceptable as reliable by conventional standards. This calculation is accurate, and it is above the commonly accepted 70 percent. The overall and individual reliability measures have been confirmed. The coding form and instructions are reliable enough to ensure that no matter who codes the articles, the same results will be reached 87 percent of the time. This, in turn, means that the coding form's categories are exclusive, exhaustive and accurate enough to use on the actual sample of 400 articles.

Chapter 4

Results

The data from the sample of 400 newspaper articles has been collected. And there are several interesting comparisons that address the hypotheses this thesis has asserted:

Hypothesis #1A: Trade will be the primary frame present in border city daily newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House.

Hypothesis #1B: The primary frame will be presented differently in the four types of North American border city daily newspapers.

Hypothesis #2: The secondary frame in border city daily newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House differs by newspaper type and includes environment, social issues and sovereignty.

Hypothesis 1A

In order to demonstrate that Hypothesis 1A is supported, four tables of statistical evidence are present. (Tables 1-4) They reveal the fact that trade dominated the sample newspapers overall coverage of NAFTA. Therefore, trade is the primary frame present in North American border city daily newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House of Representatives.

Table 1[2] shows the overall primary frames that result from coding the 400

[2] This Table and all other Tables are found in Appendix C.

newspaper articles taken from the nine border city newspapers. This table reveals that 95.2 percent of the articles present trade as the primary frame, 2.5 percent present environment, 1.8 percent present social issues and .5 percent present other as the primary frame. This is a statistical domination of the primary frame by trade. Therefore, hypothesis 1A is substantiated. And this substantiation, in turn, reveals the manifestation of the primary frame in the newspaper coverage. Since NAFTA was a trade agreement, it is logical that the news values dictate that trade issues receive the primary focus of coverage. The impact and prominence of NAFTA on North American were probably the principle news values responsible for dictating the primary frame of trade, using journalists as a conduit. If a reporter were trying to emphasize a topic other than trade as a primary frame, then the percentages would have been much higher in the environment, social, sovereignty and other categories. Therefore, news values have guided the journalists to write stories that reveal the primary frame of trade.

As further evidence of the domination of the primary frame by trade and the substantiation of hypothesis 1A, Table 2 shows how the primary frame manifest itself within the headlines of the articles from the sample. The primary frame of trade is present in 95.5 percent of all headlines, environment in 2.2 percent, social issues in 1.8 percent and other makes up the remaining.5 percent of the primary frame. This domination of the headlines by trade further supports hypothesis 1A's assertion that the primary frame present in the overall newspaper coverage of NAFTA is trade. Table 3 reveals how the primary frame manifest itself within the leads of the border city articles. The primary frame of trade is represented in 94.5 percent of all leads, environment in 2.0 percent, social issues in 2.5 percent and other as the primary frame in 1.0 percent of the

articles leads. And Table 4 demonstrates how the primary frame of trade manifest itself within the sources of the border city newspapers. The primary frame of trade is visible in 95.0 percent of all sources, environment in 2.7 percent, social issues in 1.5 percent and other in .8 percent of the articles sources.

Tables 1 through 4 support Hypothesis 1A because the data reveal that the primary frame present in North American border city daily newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House of Representatives is overwhelmingly trade. This primary frame manifest itself within the articles and appears as trade overall and in each of the three coding elements of a news text: headlines, leads, sources.

Hypothesis 1B

Four tables of statistical evidence are presented to demonstrate the fact that Hypothesis 1B is not supported. Tables 5 through 8 reveal that there are differences in the ways trade is presented in the four types of border city newspapers. However, the differences are too slight to be considered statistically significant. Therefore, hypothesis 1B is not supported because the differences are probably due to chance.

Canadian border city newspapers present trade as the overall primary frame in 99.0 percent of sample articles and environment as the primary frame in 1.0 percent, according to Table 5. Likewise, U.S./Canadian papers report trade as the overall primary frame in 99.0 percent of all articles; yet, other is presented in the remaining 1.0 percent of articles. U.S./Mexican border newspapers have trade as the primary frame in 92.0 percent, environment in

5.0 percent, social issues in 2.0 percent and other in the remaining 1.0 percent. Finally, the Mexican articles show trade as the primary frame in 92.0 percent of articles, environment in 3.0 percent and social issues in the remaining 5.0 percent of articles.

In relation to hypothesis 1B, The Canadian and U.S./Canadian newspapers present trade 99.0 percent of the time. This is the same percentage. However, Canadian newspapers use environment in the remaining 1.0 percent of articles while U.S./Canadian newspapers use other. Therefore, a difference is noted, but it is slight--1.0 percent. Canadian and U.S./Canadian newspapers are geographically close and cover basically the same border, yet they are responsible to report news values that are the most relevant to their side of the border. This could account for the 99.0 percent agreement and the 1.0 percent difference. In other words, Canadian newspapers serve the Canadian side of the border and U.S./Canadian newspapers serve the U.S. side of the border, this geographical difference is the cause for the 1.0 percent difference in the primary frame. Therefore, one manifestation of the news value of proximity is identified. It caused the journalists on both sides of the border to view the news values with a slightly different emphasis. Furthermore, Table 5 reveals that the same phenomenon is occurring with the U.S./Mexican and Mexican newspapers. They both present the primary frame of trade 92.0 percent of the time. This is attributed to the fact that they both serve the same border and, therefore, their shared geographic location has made the same news values applicable to both types. And what about the remaining 8.0 percent? It is the manifestation of the news value of proximity on the newspapers. Since U.S./Mexican newspapers serve the U.S. side of the border and Mexican newspapers serve the Mexican side of the

border, this geographical difference is the cause for the 8.0 percent difference in the primary frame. It caused the journalist to view the news values with a slightly different emphasis due to proximity.

The Pearson Chi Square test calculated a probability level of <.05 for the results of Table 5--the overall primary frames by newspaper type. This is acceptable according to conventional standards, and it means that the sample has lower than a five percent chance of being the creation of pure chance. Furthermore, since all four newspaper types (Canadian, U.S./Canadian, U.S./Mexican, Mexican) present trade in over 92.0 percent of the articles, they present them in the same general way. This supports the negation of hypothesis 1B. Because, there are no differences in the ways the newspaper types presented the overall primary frame of trade. However, while Table 5 reveals that the probability is <.05, Tables 6 through 8 show that the headline, leads, sources, primary frame and secondary frame categories have probability levels >.05.

Table 6 reveals that Canadian newspapers used headlines with the frame of trade in 98.0 percent, environment in 1.0 percent, and other in 1.0 percent of all articles. U.S./Canadian newspapers used headlines with the frame of trade in 99.0 percent and other in 1.0 percent of all articles. U.S./Mexican newspapers used headlines with the frame of trade in 94.0 percent, environment in 4.0 percent and social issues in 2.0 percent of all articles. And the Mexican newspaper used headlines with the frame of trade in 92.0 percent, environment in 3.0 percent and social issues in 5.0 percent of all articles. Table 7 shows that Canadian newspapers used leads with the frame of trade in 98.0 percent, environment in 1.0 percent, and other in 1.0 percent of all articles. U.S./Canadian newspapers used leads with the frame of trade in 98.0

percent and other in 2.0 percent of all articles. U.S./Mexican newspapers used leads with the frame of trade in 92.0 percent, environment in 3.5 percent, social issues in 3.5 percent and other in 1.0 percent of all articles. And the Mexican newspaper used leads with the frame of trade in 91.0 percent, environment in 3.0 percent and social issues in 6.0 percent of all articles. Table 8 shows that Canadian newspapers used sources with the frame of trade in 99.0 percent and environment in 1.0 percent of all articles. U.S./Canadian newspapers used leads with the frame of trade in 97.0 percent, environment in 1.0 percent and other in 2.0 percent of all articles. U.S./Mexican newspapers used leads with the frame of trade in 92.0 percent, environment in 5.0 percent, social issues in 2.0 percent and other in 1.0 percent of all articles. And the Mexican newspaper used leads with the frame of trade in 93.0 percent, environment in 3.0 and social issues in 4.0 percent of all articles. Therefore, there are differences. But, according to the Pearson Chi Square test, Tables 6,7,8, do not have probability levels <.05. This indicates that the differences in the ways the articles primary frames were formulated are, most likely, the product of chance. Therefore, the negation of hypothesis 1B is further supported with statistical evidence. The probability levels are too high to be acceptable, other than by chance, as indications of the differences of the frames. Therefore, the researcher can conclude that the results are a good example of the manifestation of the primary frame of trade in the articles. Also, it could be argued that all newspaper types followed proper news values techniques to arrive at the same primary frame, and the results are the manifestation of geographical significance or the news value of proximity.

Hypothesis 2

In order to demonstrate that Hypothesis 2 is supported, one table of statistical evidence is present. Table 9 reveals that the secondary frame existing in newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA is presented differently by the Canadian, U.S./Canadian, U.S./Mexican, and Mexican newspaper types. Furthermore, each type's secondary frame belongs to either the environment, social issues, or sovereignty category. Therefore, statistical evidence supporting hypothesis 2 is presented, and a model demonstrating the influence of the news value of proximity on the manifestation of the secondary frames in border city newspaper articles about NAFTA.

Sixty percent of the Canadian articles, 63.0 percent of the U.S./Canadian articles, 56.0 percent of the U.S./Mexican articles and 57.3 percent of the Mexican articles fell into the none category, according to Table 9.

However, Table 9 also reveals that Canadian newspapers present environment as the secondary frame in 23.0 percent, U.S./Canadian newspapers present environment in 23.0 percent, U.S./Mexican newspapers present environment in 20.9 percent and the Mexican newspaper presents environment as the secondary frame in 9.7 percent of all articles. Therefore, environment is the secondary frame in Canadian, U.S./Canadian and U.S/Mexican, while the social issues frame is the secondary frame of Mexican articles. Furthermore, Canadian newspapers present 13.0 percent of their articles with social issues as the secondary frame, U.S./Canadian present 12.0 percent, the U.S./Mexican present 10.0 percent and the Mexican newspaper presents 22.3 percent of its articles with social issues as the secondary frame.Canadian articles about NAFTA have 13.0 percent of articles with social

issues and 4.0 percent of articles with sovereignty being the secondary frame. U.S./Canadian articles demonstrate 12.0 percent with social issues, 1.0 percent with trade and 1.0 percent with other as the secondary frame. U.S./Mexican articles present 10.0 percent of articles with social issues, .9 percent with sovereignty, 7.0 percent with trade and 5.2 percent with other as the secondary frame. And Mexican articles have 9.7 percent with environment, 7.8 percent with trade and 2.9 percent with other as the secondary frame. Accordingly, As Table 9 shows, of the North American border city newspaper articles that have a secondary frame, that frame belongs to either the environment, social issues, or sovereignty category. Canadian newspapers have environment for their secondary frame. The U.S./Canadian and U.S./Mexican newspapers also present the secondary frame of environment. And the Mexican newspaper has developed the social issues category as its secondary frame. The only category not represented with a major percentage of a newspaper type's secondary frame is sovereignty. However, it received 4.0 percent of Canadian secondary frames and almost 1.0 percent of U.S./Mexican articles secondary frames. Regardless, each of the four types of border newspapers secondary frames fell into either the environment, social issues or sovereignty categories, therefore, the entire hypothesis is supported by the data. There is a difference in the ways the newspaper types present the secondary frames of either environment, social issues or sovereignty.

It can now be argued that both Canadian and U.S./Canadian newspaper types follow the exact same news values to arrive at the exact same environment percentage. While the U.S./Mexican newspaper type arrives at a slightly smaller percentage of environment due to the effect of the geographical difference on the news values. The Mexican newspaper type has a distinctly

different view of the agreement than the Canadian, U.S./Canadian, or U.S./Mexican newspaper types. The Mexican newspaper type presents the secondary frame of social issues while the other three emphasize environment. The Mexican newspaper presents environment half as often as the other three; yet, it presents social twice as much as the Canadian, U.S./Canadian and U.S./Mexican newspaper types. It appears that the influence of news values on the Mexican newspaper made the social issues category more prominent in relation to Mexican coverage while making environment less prominent. Regardless, it appears that the Mexican secondary frame is the product of its geographical location. And the news value of proximity highlights the issues that become manifest as the secondary frame. Table 9 shows that the Canadian newspaper type presents 4.0 percent of its articles with the secondary frame of sovereignty, the U.S./Canadian type presents no articles with sovereignty, the U.S./Mexican newspaper type presents .9 percent and the Mexican newspaper type presents no articles with sovereignty as the secondary frame. The researcher expected a higher percentage of articles with sovereignty to appear. However, the creation of the sovereignty frame shows the effect of news values on Canadian newspapers. This is consistent with the literature on Canada that says it was most concerned of the three North American nations with losing control of its own governmental functions as a result of NAFTA.

Furthermore, Canadian newspapers have no articles with the secondary frame of trade, U.S./Canadian newspapers reveal 1.0 percent, U.S./Mexican newspapers have 7.0 percent and the Mexican newspaper show 7.8 percent of articles with trade as the secondary frame. (Table 9) Canadian border city papers present no articles with other as the secondary frame, U.S./Canadian border papers present 1.0 percent, U.S./Mexican border papers present 5.2

percent and Mexican border papers present 2.9 percent of its articles with other as the secondary frame. These differences in secondary frames all reveal that news values are manifest within news texts. This manifestation occurs in the form of primary and secondary frames. And news values like impact and proximity have an influence over the way the secondary frame becomes manifest within newspaper texts.

The data on Table 9 is significant according to the Pearson Chi Square Test. The degrees of freedom reveal a probability level of <.05. Therefore, there is a less than five percent chance that the results obtained from the content analysis through coding forms and statistical analysis are due to pure chance. This is the conventional standard that determines the significance of the statistical variance of a particular set of data. Therefore, the results and conclusions are acceptable. These results indicate that because the secondary frames were presented differently according to newspaper type (Canadian, U.S./Canadian, U.S./Mexican, and Mexican). And the secondary frames included all three of the categories environment, social issues and trade that were major elements of NAFTA on North America. The conclusion is that the news values of prominence and proximity dictated the secondary frames of coverage. Therefore, all newspaper types presented their coverage of NAFTA differently through adherence to the news values that were the most relevant to them, causing one major difference. The Mexican newspaper presented a different secondary frame from the other three newspaper types. And this difference is the result of the Mexican secondary frame addressing the elements that the news values present. There are differences in the ways Canadian and U.S./Canadian newspaper types presented other categories. These differences in the percentages of social issues, sovereignty, trade and other categories

cannot be attributed to chance because the probability level is <.05; therefore, the results are not chance, according to the conventional level. It is more likely that the slight differences in the social, sovereignty, other and none categories are the results of the newspapers selecting news values in accordance with their geographical location and side of the border.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

This thesis reveals the facts that primary and secondary frames exist in news coverage about events, and that this idea is commonly accepted in the communications research field, as well as in many other scholarly fields of study. This thesis also explains and defines primary and secondary frames. And it demonstrates the relationship between news values and how they influence the formation and manifestation of primary and secondary frames within newspaper texts. If the reader was unaware of framing, primary frames or secondary frames as a research topic or as a possible element of the daily news, then this thesis has provided new information.

Through the presentation of this information, this study helps journalists, scholars and the general public to better understand the ways news values operate and become manifest in newspaper texts. This study about framing adds a significant piece of research to the entire body of research on framing analysis. And it is important to journalists and the public they serve, because it increases their understanding of the news process. And it helps these groups make better decisions about the news. This thesis has shed new light on the ways frames evolve and form in newspaper texts. Accordingly, the public can be better served by this knowledge. And a realistic and significant result of this study is its influence on current and future journalists and scholars. This study provides these professionals with a ready resource of the knowledge necessary to make judgments about what information is accurate and what information is framed. Furthermore, this study allows journalists and scholars to reach new levels of understanding about newspaper coverage, in general, and the

ratification of NAFTA, in particular.

This thesis performs a content analysis of nine North American border city daily newspapers. The focus of the analysis is coverage of the November 17, 1993, ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House of Representatives. This study demonstrates a view held by scholars and journalists that the primary and secondary news frames are created by the journalists adherence to news values when reporting and writing the articles. The hypotheses are designed to test the development and track the manifestation of primary and secondary news frames in the texts. Hypothesis 1 says that trade is the primary frame present in border city daily newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House, and it is supported by the results reported in Tables 1 through 4. Hypothesis 1B states that the primary frame is presented differently in the four types of North American border city daily newspapers. But this hypothesis is negated by the results shown in Tables 5 through 8. However, this negation supports the thesis' overall assertation that news values influence the formation and manifestation of primary frames in the news texts. And hypothesis 2 states that the secondary frame in border city daily newspaper coverage of the ratification of NAFTA by the U.S. House differs by newspaper type and includes environment, social issues and sovereignty. It is supported by Table 9. The differences in the environment, social issues, sovereignty, other and none categories are the results of the newspapers selecting news values in accordance with their geographical location and side of the border (proximity). Because American, Canadian and Mexican border city daily newspapers are located in geographically significant locations along national borders, they all share the journalistic responsibility of covering NAFTA's ratification for their immediate news area (news value of proximity). And they also share a vested

interest to their nation in covering the agreement. As a result, this study shows that commonly accepted news values cause the subject to be presented to each country's reading public with primary and secondary topics, news angles, or ideas selected and highlighted, and, therefore, framed. The primary and secondary frames are the result of the border newspapers in the sample following news values. This thesis creates a foundation layer of research that examines the manifestation of primary and, in particular, secondary frames in newspaper texts.

This thesis provides information that was not previously known. Since this study is based on the fact that there are lots of North American university journalism schools teaching the same news values elements for reporting. It is common knowledge, at least to scholars and journalists, that newspaper reporters are trained to use news values. Therefore, these groups are aware that stories are written on the basis of news values. Accordingly, the stories' frames are defined and built by the same news values that construct the story that encapsulates the actual information. And this thesis demonstrates how the manifest primary and secondary frames are influenced by news values. This study looks at secondary frames as a particular point of interest. And this aspect makes the study unique.

Recommendations for Future Research

By using the body of research about framing and a content analysis research technique and interpreting the results on a statistical basis, this thesis provides a foundation for future research.

For example, the study of time patterns of coverage and the primary and

secondary frames that result could be performed on a sample of articles about NAFTA or another issue that is covered over a length of time, such as an election. For example, while examining and coding the 400 articles in the sample, a time related pattern of coverage was noticed by the researcher. This pattern could be referred to as a spiking effect. It reveals that coverage of the Nov. 17, 1993 ratification began on Nov. 1, 1993 with a small amount of coverage that increased slightly as Nov. 17 drew nearer. Suddenly, a dramatic increase in articles was present until just before the election. After Nov. 17, the number of articles took a significant dive and faded completely away before the Nov. 25, 1993 cut-off date of the sample.

Furthermore, in keeping with the election theme, the Horse Race aspect of political coverage and/or of the NAFTA debate could be examined through the use of a content analysis. The articles would be about a certain election or the NAFTA debate which preceded the U.S. House of Representatives' vote. Other research ideas could be possible, as well. Such as a similar type of framing and news values study of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Baer, Delal and Weintraub, Sidney. (1994). The NAFTA Debate: Grappling with Unconventional Trade Issues. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. Boulder, Colo. and London, England.

Bennett, W.L. (1988). News: The politics of illusion. New York. Longman.

Bognanno, Mario and Ready, Kathyrn. (1993). The North American Free Trade Agreement: Labor, Industry, and Government Perspectives. Quorum Books. Westport, Conn. and London.

Boone, Jeffrey Glenn. (1993). Science and Nature as Sources for Scientific News: Are Journalistic News Values a Factor? A University of Tennessee Master of Science Thesis.

Bowles, D. and Borden, D. and Rivers, W. (1993). Creative Editing for Print Media. Belmont, California. Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Burnett, J.C. (1993). An Analysis of Three Newsweeklies Covering Food Safety Issues During the 1989 Alar Chemical Scare. A University of Tennessee Master of Science Thesis.

Crystal, David. (1990). The Cambridge Encyclopedia. Cambridge University Press. p.466. New York.

Entman, Robert. M. (1989). Democracy Without Citizens: Media And The Decay Of American Politics. New York. Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Entman, Robert. M. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. Journal of Communication. v 41, n 4, p. 6-27.

Entman, Robert. M. (1993). Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. Journal of Communication, v 43, n 4, p. 51-58.

Fishman, M. (1980). Manufacturing the news. Austin. University of Texas Press.

Fiske, S.T., & Taylor, S.E. (1991). Social Cognition. New York. McGraw-Hill.

Gamson, W. A. (1985). Goffman's legacy to political sociology. Theory and Society. 14, 605-622.

Gamson, W.A. and Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion: A constructionist approach. American Journal of Sociology. v 95, p.1-37.

Gans, H.J. (1979). Deciding what's news. A study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly news, Newsweek and Time. New York. Vintage Books.

Globerman, Steven and Walker, Michael. (1993). Assessing NAFTA: A Trinational Analysis. The Fraser Institute. Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

Goffman, Erving. (1974). Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass.

Graber, Doris. A. (1993). Mass Media And American Politics. Congressional Quarterly Inc. Washington, D.C.

Grolier. (1995). The Grolier Electronic Encyclopedia. Grolier Electronic Publishing, Inc.

Harriss, J., Leiter, B.K., & Johnson, S. (1992). The Complete Reporter. New York. Macmillan.

Huang, L.N. (1994). "Framing Analysis: Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status of Human Rights Or Both? A Comparative Study of the American and Chinese Newspapers. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research, Chicago, November, 1994.

Iyengar, S. (1991). Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.

Kahneman, D. and Tversky, A. (1981). The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice. Science. v 211, p. 453-458.

Linsky, Martin. (1986). IMPACT: How The Press Affects Federal Policymaking. New York. London. W.W. Norton & Company.

Pan, Zhongdang and Kosicki, Gerald. (1993). Framing Analysis: an Approach to News Discourse. Political Communication. v 10. p. 55-75.

Singletary, Michael. (1994). Mass Communications Research. Contemporary Methods And Applications. New York. London. Longman.

van Dijk, T.A. (1988). News as discourse. Hillsdale, NJ. Erlbaum.

Woolf, Henry. (1974). The Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Simon & Schuster, Inc. N.Y.

Yows, S.R. (1994). "Towards developing a coherent theory of framing: understanding the relationships between news framing and audience f framing." Research paper.

Zaller, J.R. (1992). The nature and origins of mass opinion. New York. Cambridge University Press.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
FIGURES

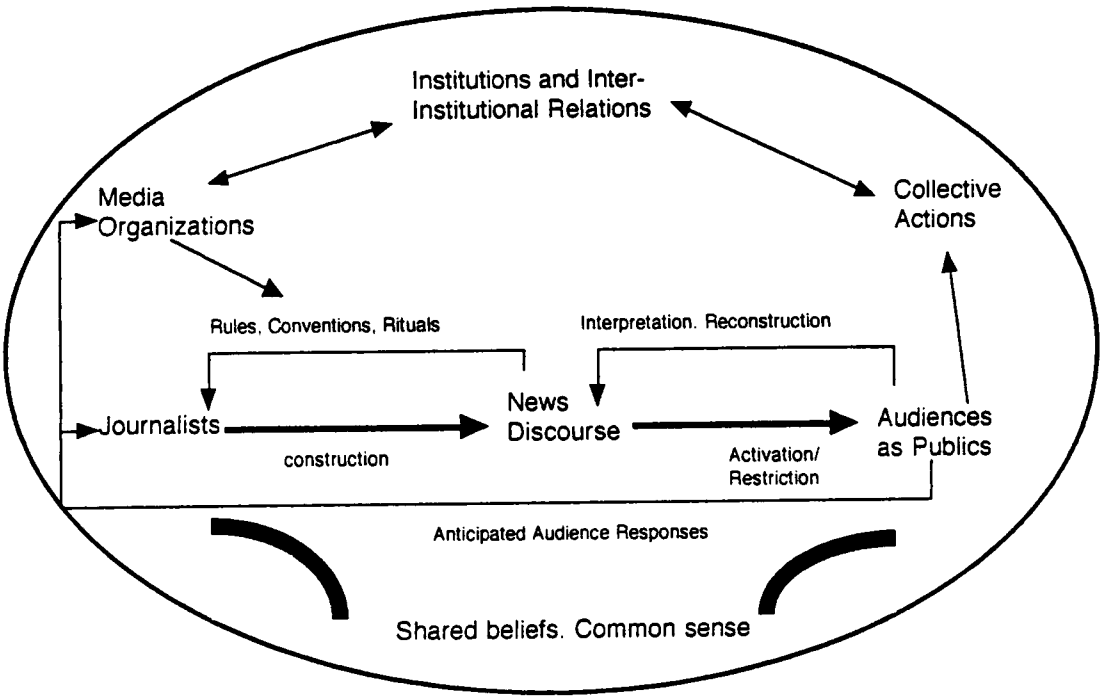

Figure 1. News Media Discourse Framing Process. From "Framing Analysis: an Approach to News Discourse," by Pan, Zhongdang and Kosicki, Gerald, 1993, Political Communication. v 10. p. 55-75. Copyright 1993.

Canadian	The Chronicle Journal-Thunder Bay, Ontario. Circulation - 28,598. The Globe and Mail-Toronto, Ontario. Circulation - 317,000. The Vancouver Sun-Vancouver, British Columbia. Circulation - 193,846.
U.S.--Canadian	The Buffalo News-Buffalo, New York. Circulation - 309,886. The Duluth News-Tribune-Duluth, Minnesota. Circulation - 55,030. The Seattle Times-Seattle, Washington. Circulation - 231,446.
U.S.--Mexican	The El Paso Times-El Paso, Texas. Circulation - 66,143. The San Diego Union-Tribune-San Diego, California. Circulation - 406,860.
Mexican	La Jornada-Mexico City, Mexico. Circulation -75,000. This is a Spanish language newspaper.

Figure 2. Names, Locations And Circulation Figures for the North American Border Cities' Daily Newspapers Used in the Content Analysis.

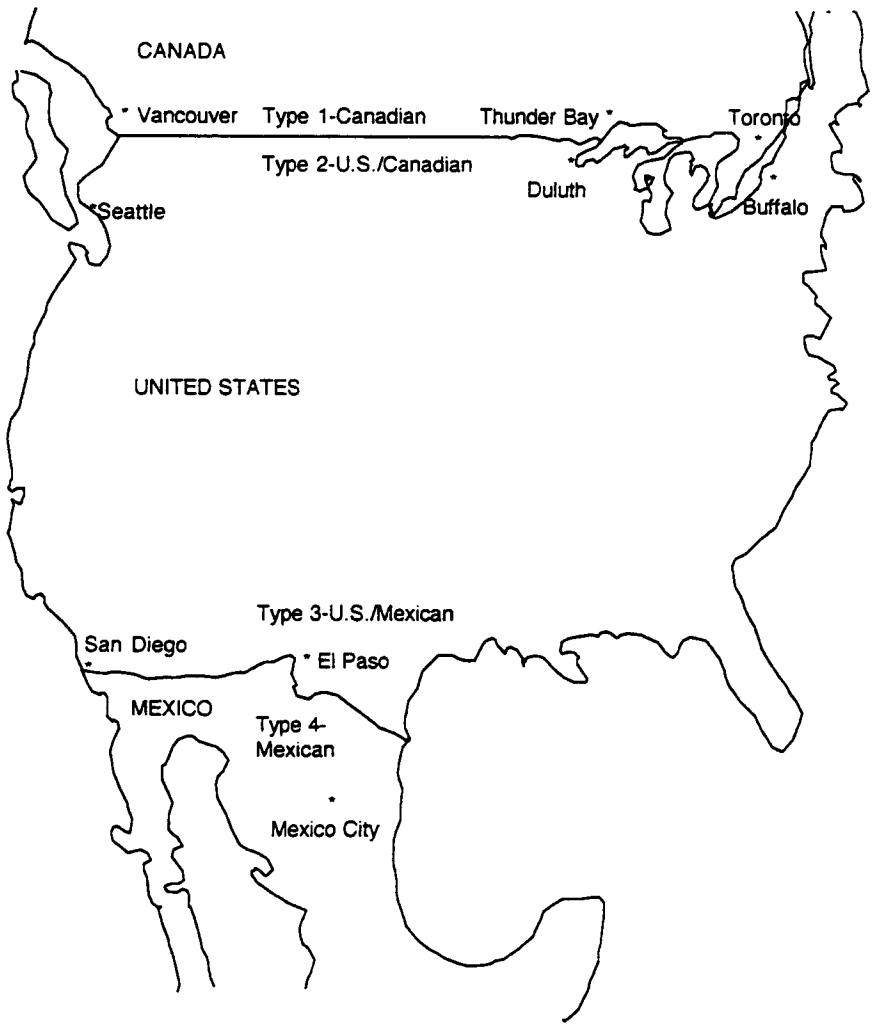

Figure 3. Map of the geographical location and relationships among North American border city newspapers.

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table 1. Primary Frame Percentages Of The Overall Articles.

	Frequency	Percent
Environment	10	2.5
Social	7	1.8
Sovereignty	0	0
Trade	381	95.2
Other	2	.5
	400	100

Table 1. Percentages Of The Articles' Overall Primary Frame. Presented In All Combined Border City Newspapers' Coverage Of NAFTA. Calculated From The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles.

Table 2. Primary Frame Percentages Of All Articles' Headlines.

	Frequency	Percent
Environment	9	2.2
Social	7	1.8
Sovereignty	0	0
Trade	382	95.5
Other	2	.5
	400	100

Table 2. Percentages Of The Articles' Headlines' Primary Frame. Presented In All Combined Border City Newspapers' Coverage Of NAFTA. Calculated From The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles.

Table 3. Primary Frame Percentages of All Articles' Leads.

	Frequency	Percent
Environment	8	2.0
Social	10	2.5
Sovereignty	0	0
Trade	378	94.5
Other	4	1.0
	400	100

Table 3. Percentages Of The Articles' Leads' Primary Frame. Presented In All Combined Border City Newspapers' Coverage Of NAFTA. Calculated From The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles..

Table 4. Primary Frame Percentages of All Overall Sources.

	Frequency	Percent
Environment	11	2.7
Social	6	1.5
Sovereignty	0	0
Trade	380	95.0
Other	3	.8
	400	100

Table 4. Percentages Of The Articles' Overall Sources' Primary Frame. Presented In All Combined Border City Newspapers' Coverage Of NAFTA. Calculated From The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles.

Table 5. Primary Frame Percentages For Overall Articles By Newspaper Type.

CATEGORIES	NEWSPAPER TYPE: Canadian	U.S.-Canadian	U.S.-Mexican	Mexican	Row Total
Environment	1.0	0	5.0	3.0	10 2.5
Social	0	0	2.0	5.0	7 1.8
Sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0 0
Trade	99.0	99.0	92.0	92.0	381 95.3
Other	0	1.0	1.0	0	2 .5
Column Total	82 20.5	100 25.0	115 28.8	103 25.8	400 100.0

	DF	Significance
Chi-Square--Pearson	9	.04

Table 5. Primary Frame Percentages For Overall Articles By Newspaper Type. Performed On The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles From Nine North American Border Cities' Daily Newspapers.

Table 6. Primary Frame Percentages For Headlines By Newspaper Types.

NEWSPAPER TYPE

CATEGORIES	Canadian	U.S.-Canadian	U.S.-Mexican	Mexican	Row Total
Environment	1.0	0	4.0	3.0	9 2.3
Social	0	0	2.0	5.0	7 1.8
Sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0 0
Trade	98.0	99.0	94.0	92.0	382 95.5
Other	1.0	1.0	0	0	2 .5
Column Total	82 20.5	100 25.0	115 28.8	103 25.8	400 100.0

	DF	Significance
Chi-Square--Pearson	9	.05373

Table 6. Primary Frame Percentages For All Articles' Headlines By Newspaper Type. Performed On The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles From Nine North American Border Cities' Daily Newspapers.

Table 7. Primary Frame Percentages For Leads By Newspaper Type.

NEWSPAPER TYPE

CATEGORIES	Canadian	U.S.-Canadian	U.S.-Mexican	Mexican	Row Total
Environment	1.0	0	3.5	3.0	8 2.0
Social	0	0	3.5	6.0	10 2.5
Sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0 0
Trade	98.0	98.0	92.0	91.0	378 94.5
Other	1.0	2.0	1.0	0	4 1.0
Column Total	82 20.5	100 25.0	115 28.8	103 25.8	400 100.0

	DF	Significance
Chi-Square--Pearson	9	.06770

Table 7. Primary Frame Percentages For All Articles' Leads By Newspaper Type. Performed On The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles From Nine North American Border Cities' Daily Newspapers.

Table 8. Primary Frame Percentages For Sources By Newspaper Type.

NEWSPAPER TYPE

CATEGORIES	Canadian	U.S.-Canadian	U.S.-Mexican	Mexican	Row Total
Environment	1.0	1.0	5.0	3.0	11 2.8
Social	0	0	2.0	4.0	6 1.5
Sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0 0
Trade	99.0	97.0	92.0	93.0	380 95.0
Other	0	2.0	1.0	0	3 .8
Column Total	82 20.5	100 25.0	115 28.8	103 25.8	400 100.0

	DF	Significance
Chi-Square--Pearson	9	.09564

Table 8. Primary Frame Percentages For All Articles' Sources By Newspaper Type. Performed On The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles From Nine North American Border Cities' Daily Newspapers.

Table 9. Secondary Frame Percentages For Overall Articles By Newspaper Type.

CATEGORIES	NEWSPAPER TYPE Canadian	U.S.-Canadian	U.S.-Mexican	Mexican	Row total
Environment	23.0	23.0	20.9	9.7	76 19.0
Social	13.0	12.0	10.0	22.3	58 14.5
Sovereignty	4.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	4 1.0
Trade	0.0	1.0	7.0	7.8	17 4.3
Other	0.0	1.0	5.2	2.9	10 2.5
None	60.0	63.0	56.0	57.3	235 58.8
	82 20.5	100 25.0	115 28.8	103 25.8	400 100.0

	DF	Significance
Chi-Square--Pearson	15	.00079

Table 9. Secondary Frame Percentages Of Overall Articles By Newspaper Type. Performed On The Sample of 400 Newspaper Articles From Nine North American Border Cities' Daily Newspapers.

APPENDIX C

CODING INSTRUCTIONS

AND

CODING FORM

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODING FORM

Instructions: Follow the directions to code the preselected and provided North American newspaper articles about the North American Free Trade Agreement.

News stories from the period of November 1, 1993 through November 25, 1993 with NAFTA as the main topic were selected for this content analysis; editorials, opinion pieces, commentaries, and briefs were excluded.

A package of photocopied newspaper articles from the following newspapers have been provided. The numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of articles.

Canadian
The Chronicle Journal (17)
The Globe and Mail (40)
The Vancouver Sun (25)

U.S.-Canadian
The Buffalo News (38)
The Duluth News-Tribune (30)
The Seattle Times (32)

U.S.-Mexican
The El Paso Times (62)
The San Diego Union-Tribune (53)

Mexican
La Jornada (103)
(400) Total

Make sure you have all articles. The articles to be coded have been outlined with a marker and numbered according to date and placement in that issue. Use one coding form per newspaper article.

Articles are to be coded for four frame categories. The following are the four frame categories and examples of some terms and topics associated with each frame that are acceptable for categories associated with the frame:

(1)Environment-natural resources, environmental damage, pollution restrictions, pollution havens, water control.

(2)Social-human rights, health care, immigrants, welfare, cultural identity.

(3)Sovereignty-power to self-govern without external control.

(4)Trade-debate, economy, business, negotiate, labor, industry, employment, border industry, maquiladoras, imports, exports.

These terms, other associated terms and topics, common sense, and the coder's knowledge about NAFTA should be used to complete the coding form.
The first five lines of the coding form: Newspaper Name, Newspaper Country, Article Date and Number, Coder Name, and Coding Date should be filled out before continuing with the coding form's four categories.

The following are directions for the three coding categories found on the coding form. The last two categories (article's primary frame and article's secondary frame) asks the coder to place the article as a whole in a particular frame based on the classifications provided by the three main coding categories plus other article elements.

(1)Headlines-The headline for each article should be read and its main topic, point or emphasis should be considered according to what frame category it addresses and, therefore, belongs to. This is a judgment call based on the key words and interpreted main point of the headline. The headline could indicate the article's frame. (Check the category that best applies to the headline):

( )Environment
( )Social
( )Sovereignty
( )Trade
( )Other

(2)Leads-The lead is the first paragraph or complete idea of the article's content. This should be limited to the first or second paragraph for most articles. Read the lead and consider its content to decide which frame category is highlighted or emphasized. (Check the category that best describes the focus of the lead):

( )Environment
( )Social
( )Sovereignty
( )Trade
( )Other

(3)Sources-Read the article and write down the name and identifiers (job title and/or description) for each source quoted on the lines provided. This will help determine what source information is being highlighted. The number of times each source is quoted should be recorded in the space provided.

Use this number, the frame category each source belongs to or represents, and your understanding of what source information is being highlighted or receiving the main focus of the story in order to categorize the source frame. If two or more sources receive equal attention, the source quoted first should be considered primary and the source quoted second should be considered the secondary.

(Write down the quoted source's name, identifier, number of times each source is quoted, and then check the category that best describes the overall frame presented through the article's sources):

Source Name	Identifier	# times quoted
Source Name	Identifier	# times quoted
Source Name	Identifier	# times quoted

Overall Source Frame-(Check one):

( )Environment
( )Social
( )Sovereignty
( )Trade
( )Other

(4)Article's Primary Frame- Read the entire article's content and consider the headlines, leads, sources, quotes, photographs, charts, graphs, and all other information included in or with the article to decide which category the article belongs to as a whole. (Check the category that best describes the article's overall frame):

( )Trade
( )Environment
( )Social
( )Sovereignty
( )Other

(5)Article's Secondary Frame-Use your own judgement and the results of the previous categories to classify a secondary frame within each article. If two or more categories receive equal attention, the category named or described first should be considered the secondary frame. For the purpose of this content analysis, the primary frame cannot be marked as the secondary frame. In cases where there is only a primary frame, the none category should be marked. (Check the category that best describes the article's secondary frame):

( )Trade
( )Environment
( )Social
( )Sovereignty
( )Other
( )None

CODING FORM

Coding Identification Number_____
Newspaper Name_____
Newspaper Type_____
Article Date_____

(1)Headline-(Check one):

( )Environment ( )Trade
( )Social ( )Other
( )Sovereignty

(2)Lead-(Check one):

( )Environment ( )Trade
( )Social ( )Other
( )Sovereignty

(3)Sources-

Source Name	Identifier	# times quoted
Source Name	Identifier	# times quoted
Source Name	Identifier	# times quoted
Source Name	Identifier	# times quoted

Overall Source Frame-(Check one):

( )Environment ( )Trade
( )Social ( )Other
( )Sovereignty

(4)Article's Primary Frame-(Check one):

( )Environment ( )Trade
( )Social ( )Other
( )Sovereignty

(5)Article's Secondary Frame-(Check one):

( )Environment ( )Trade
( )Social ( )Other
( )Sovereignty ( )None

VITA

Robert Curtis Hayes was born in Denton, TX, on September 4, 1968. He lived and attended school in many different places including Iowa, California, Ontario, Virginia and North Carolina before graduating from Doyle High School in Knoxville, Tennessee.

He entered Davidson County Community College in Lexington, NC, in the Fall of 1986. And he received an Associate of Arts degree in pre-business administration in February, 1989. In the Fall of 1990, Hayes began studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Radio, Television and Motion Pictures, in 1993.

Hayes began studying for the Master of Science in Communications degree at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in the Fall of 1994. He completed the degree in December 1996.